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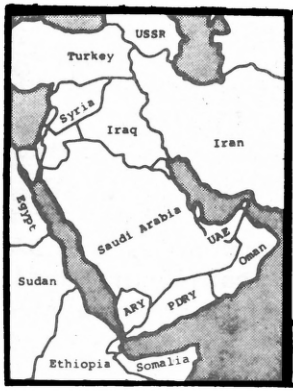


News from Oman

(Dhofar Letter)

Special Issue 9 August 1978

The Liberation Struggle in Oman

In its fourteenth year the Omani people under the leadership of the PFLO is fighting a complicated and hard struggle against imperialist oppression.

The struggle in Oman is an example from the Gulf-area of the world-wide struggle against imperialism, fought by the population of the "third world".

A struggle, which calls on solidarity.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF OMAN

The Sultanate of Oman is situated in the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula. The total area is estimated to be app. 310.000 square kilometers, app. 0.15% of which is cultivated. The official figures for the population is 1.500.000, but an unofficial examination in 1975 shows figures as low as 766.000. Beyond these there are app. 65.000 foreigners.

Oman is divided in the following areas:

The Ras Massendum Peninsula, situated by the Strait of Hormuz, is separated from the rest of Oman by the United Arab Emirates.

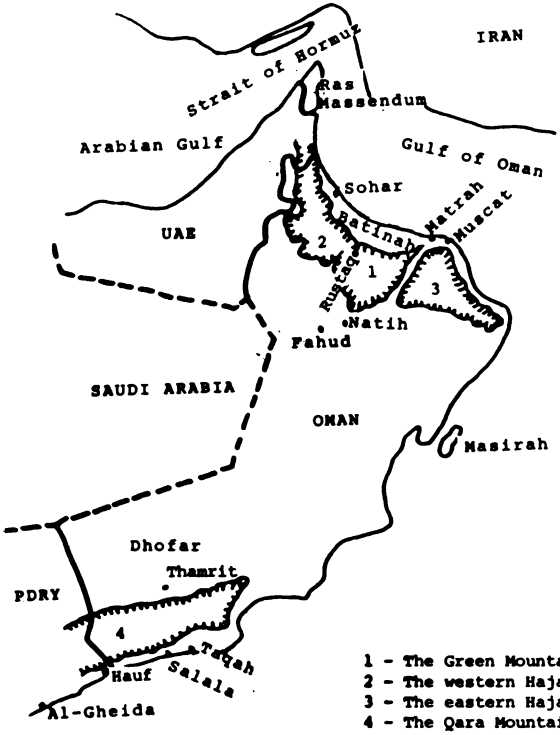
The Batinah Plain, is a narrow fertile coastal area by the Omani Gulf. In this area a great proportion of the population lives. They mainly live by fishing and farming. Here you can find big mercha-nised farms, growing dates, lemons and tobacco for export.

The coastal area around the capital Muscat and the port Matrah is the center for the economic development, which has taken place since 1970 in the construction and industrial sectors and has attracted people from the interior Oman and from abroad. The popu-

lation in the Muscat/Matrah area is app. 80.000.

To the west of the coastal area in the interior of Oman you will find the Hajar Mountains reaching heights of 1200m above sea level. The population is concentrated to the valleys, where cultivation is possible. The farming is primitive and the greater part of the production is consumed locally. Some nomadic tribes live in the area. The most important part of the area is around the towns of Fahud and Natih where oil is found, the most vital export article for Oman giving 90% of the governement incomes. In the western Hajar Mountains, near the town of Sohar, copper-deposits have been found, and the production is expected to start in 1980.

The province of Dhofar is situated in the most southern part of Oman. It is separated from the rest of Oman by a 800 km-wide desert. Along the coast of Dhofar there are plains of various width. The most important is the plain around the capital Salala (60 km long and 15 km wide). Some distance from the coast the plains meet the Qara Mountain-range. In the mountains the vegetation is luxuriant and most of the Dhofarians (app. 150.000) live in this green zone and by the coast. The coastal population lives by fishing, farming and trading. In the mountains the population lives as nomads mainly by keeping goats, cattle, sheep and camels but also in some areas by cultivating the land during the monsoon.



1 - The Green Mountains
2 - The western Hajar Mountains
3 - The eastern Hajar Mountains
4 - The Qara Mountain-range

Oman is situated in the tropics. The fall of rain is limited, and drought is frequent sometimes lasting for two years. Dhofar, however, is an exception to the rest of Oman, taking advantage of the south-west monsoon in July, August and September.

THE BACKGROUND AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

THE DEVELOPMENT IN OMAN IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE UP TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN 1965:

Oman during the colonial time

In order to understand the background to the liberation struggle in Oman it is necessary to follow the historical development of Oman. The history of Oman shows that the conditions and struggles here are not a result of a local isolated development but a result of the confrontation with the European colonialism. The international event decisive to the further destiny of Oman was the British intrusion into the Arabian/Persian Gulf in about the middle of the 19'th century. At that time the Sultanate was a prosperous commercial centre and a big colonial power with colonies along the coasts of Africa and Pakistan. The Omani fleet was the largest in the Indian Ocean. It did not last many years until British steamships with cheap industrial commodities had ousted the mercantile fleet of Oman and destroyed the Omani craft. The economy dissolved completely and was reduced to a subsistence level. On this level Oman should stay for the next 100 years. The economic break-down of Oman made the tribes from the interior Oman revolt against the Sultan, who resided in the coastal town Muscat, and dethrone him. The British took this opportunity to obtain a foothold in the area. They were especially interested in securing the sea-route to India. Therefore they expelled the rebels from Muscat and restored the Sultan in 1871. Since then Oman has in reality been a British colony, a fact which the British always have tried to hide. The successive Sultans could stay in power through massive British economic and military aid, and their policy have been decided by British advisers. The British succeeded to maintain a sort of status quo in Oman, partly through their influence on the Sultan and partly by bribing the leading tribal sheiks. Those tribes which had been privileged by the British, maintained and defended the underdeveloped conditions, and thereby they secured the British control.

Two points characterize the period in question:
1. The demolition of the economy of Oman.
2. The introduction of the "divide and rule" strategy, which acts as a brake to all economic, social and political development.

The reason, why the British with this divide and rule strategy created and maintained such a barbarian situation in the country is to be found in the situation in the centre of the imperialist

system at that time. The relations between the imperialist powers were caracterized by a strong competition how to divide the world between them. By introducing the divide and rule strategy the British secured the control of the area. Local powers were unable to grow strong, because this strategy prevented the local social and economic development which otherwise would have been the basis for their growth and strength. The British , therefore did not get any local rivals, who could threaten their rule, and their European rivals got no possibility to ally with local groups against the British rule.

An exception to this was the tribes in the interior of Oman under the leadership of the Imam, the religious leader. In 1920 a pact was made, which gave autonomy to the interior Oman. The reason to this pact was partly that the British had troubles to subdue the tribes militarily, and partly that this area was without greater interest for imperialism at that time. The aim was to secure the sea-route to India. Nor the Imamate could be any threat to the British, who controlled the coastal area and thereby kept the interior isolated from the outside world. An isolation which hampered the economic development and prevented contact to any of Britains European rivals.

In fact the British succeeded to keep Oman on this middleage level for almost 100 years, due to the divide and rule strategy. As a consequence one of the most barbarian rules in the world began in Oman during the last part of this "period of stagnation". In the period 1932-70 the tool of the British was Sultan Said bin Taimur who carried out their policy with brutality. Right on to 1970 there were almost no schools, roads or health services. Medicins, books, spectacles and radios were forbidden. A situation which caused disease and illitracy.

It was the population in the poor province, Dhofar who called forth an important change in this system. The two events decisive to the break with the past and the beginning to the development of a quite new situation in Oman, was the starting of the liberation struggle in Dhofar in 1965 and the coup d'etat, provoked by the fightings and directed by the British, in 1970 when Qaboos, the son of the old Sultan came into power. Both events have their roots in the international situation.

The neocolonial world-order

After the Second World War England was ruined and was no longer the dominating military and economic power in the western world. The USA was ready to conquer the world rule, being in the posses-

sion of an enormous, till now unseen, military and economic potential. The situation was precarious. England possessed most of the colonies in the world, the independence movements in the colonies were pushing to retain independence, and USA was ready to take over the British role.

The neo-colonial world-order, which was the solution of the problem, was established, paradoxially enough, in the name of decolonization. The new strategy was partly a continuation of the old divide and rule strategy, favouring the friendly local upper classes, which were provided with an effective army and police to subdue the opposition , and partly a new creation, as the colonies obtained their formal independance. They were submerged with especially American goods and investments in order to exploit the human and natural resources of the colonies effectively. Limited reforms were introduced to restrain the worst dissatisfaction. The old strategy - to contain the development - has been abandoned, and instead reforms are introduced, and the colonies are integrated in the new imperialist world-economy.

Another event, which is important for the understanding of the development in Oman, is the oil-boom in the Gulf, which begins after the Second World War and makes the whole Gulf area a very important economic and strategic area to imperialism. The huge oil profits makes it especially important to the ruling classes to introduce the neo-colonial system. The pacification of the national and progressive movements in the Arab World does, however, not succeed smoothly, partly because of the establishment of the colonial settler-state Israel in a time of de-colonization.

The confrontation of the colonial Oman with the neo-colonial world

The fact that USA took over the leadership in the imperialist world, and the increasing imperialist need of oil, are the two big changes in the imperialist system that have a direct influence on the situation in Oman. In the period 1954-59 the first serious attempt to overthrow the old kind of imperialism in Oman arise. Now it is no longer the coastal areas only, that are important but the entire country. The hunger for oil makes the British oil-company PDO (Petroleum Development Oman) go into the interior Oman, where they find oil in 1954. The autonomy agreement from 1920 is violated, and the British occupy the area. But suddenly the Imam find strong allies. USA is willing to support him through their local ally , Saudi Arabia and the oil-company ARAMCO, hoping to get the oil-concessions for the interior Oman

and attain control in the area. In 1957 the revolt in the Green Mountains breaks out, but after two years of hard fightings the British succeeded to crush the rebellion through terror-bombardments of villages by the Royal Air Force and by using experienced anti-guerilla units from their other colonies.

Totally in opposition to the development in the rest of the world, Britain and the old kind of imperialism stayed in power in Oman but, as it turned up, only for a short time. Though the fractions in the imperialist camp took advantage of the revolt in the Green Mountains in their own internal fight, the revolt had great popular support because of the common opposition to the British occupation. The revolt was in fact an experience and inspiration to the later liberation struggle. In a genuine national liberation struggle, however, it is the people itself, who - after matured experiences - take the leadership in the struggle. The further development of imperialism in the Gulf brings such maturity.

The oil-industri growing up in the Gulf, is drawing workers from Oman to the oil-fields. It is especially the poor people from the southern province of Oman, Dhofar, who are emigrating in thousands during the fifties and the beginning of the sixties. Dhofar was an extremely poor province, because it was kept as a colony by the Sultan in the northern Oman, who taxed the population of Dhofar heavily. During their stay in the oil states the people from Dhofar came in touch with a completely new world with conditions totally different from the medieval conditions they were used to. They were inspired by the progressive and national currents passing through the Arab World, and when they later on return to Dhofar, they are firmly determined to bring development and progress to Oman. In Oman the old kind of imperialism was still ruling in which the underdeveloped conditions were a part of the strategy of the British and the local reactionaries towards the population. Therefore the Dhofarians were forced to start an armed rebellion, and on the 9'th of June 1965 the struggle broke out.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

A struggle for liberation is not only a question of the military positions of the liberation army, the struggle is carried out on many levels of the social life, in a dialectial process between the two fighting parties. In the following it will be explained how the struggle between the people and its organization on the one side and the local reactionaries and the imperialists on the other side is waving up and down on the political, military and economic battle fields.

First Phase 1965-1968

On the 9'th of June 1965 the armed struggle in Dhofar is started by Dhofars Liberation Front, DLF. The core of the front consists of returned oil-workers and dissatisfied tribesmen from the area. The struggle is considered to be the last in a long series of encounters with the Omani colonialism, and the aim is a free and independent Dhofar. The united forces of the Sultan and the British (the Sultan's army consists of 10.000 men, mainly Baluchi mercenaries, from this poor province of Pakistan. But all officers are British from the sergeants to the Minister of Defence) try to crush the revolt with the traditional imperialist methods. Villages and fields are burned, the rebel areas are blocaded economically, and the corpses of executed rebels are exhibited on the market in Salala, in order to discourage the people. However, the imperialist forces did not succeed to prevent DLF from obtaining control of the western Dhofar.

Second Phase 1968-1974

For the Front this phase is characterized by the ideological change in 1968, which makes the revolution advance and take root. In the camp of the imperialists and the Sultan a new comprehensive anti-revolution-strategy is coming up, and renewed attacks on the the revolution are started. At the congress of the Front in Hamrin in 1968 the left wing takes over the leadership. The defeat in Sinai in 1967 which led to a radicalization of the Arab nationalist movement and NLF's victory in Southern Yemen the same year were the external factors which influenced the ideological shift. The Front changes its name to the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG) and adopts scientific socialism as its official ideology. The Front now opposes the separatist line and lays out a general anti-imperialist anti-reactionary strategy for the entire Gulf area. The main contradiction is between the oppressed population in the Gulf on the one hand, and on the other the local reactionaries and their imperialist allies. The military training now takes place parallel with political schooling, and women take part in the struggle on equal terms with men.

In 1971 an adjustment and realisation of the revolutionary slogans takes place, the revolution takes root and PFLOAG accomplish a revolutionary transformation of the liberated areas. The land is collectivized and the nomads have the possibility to settle down and cultivate the land. A farm for experimental agriculture is established. The wells are collectivized and Dhofar's innumerable tribal quarrels about these wells vanish. Formerly

each tribe owned its wells, exclusively for their own use. Popular democratic councils consisting of elected representatives from the local population, the militia and the liberation army organize the people cooperatively around the solution of daily problems. Literacy campaigns are carried through with the result that 70% of the People's Front and 50% of the local population learn reading and writing. Two schools for 2000 pupils are established. Health centers are started, and bare-foot-doctors are trained. A united front is established between all progressive forces in the Gulf. In 1971 PFLOAG unites with NDFLOAG, which is struggling in the interior Oman. Also militarily the People's Front makes great progress. In June 1970 all Dhofar is liberated except the provincial capital Salala, and the fightings spread to the northern and interior Oman. Oman is facing its total liberation.

The successes of the Omani people's attempt to change the Sultanate of Oman to the people's Oman makes it absolutely necessary to the counter revolutionaries, who most of all want to prevent that popular assumption of power will spread throughout the Gulf area, to bring about a new anti-revolution strategy which is in better accordance with the local and international situation. It had become obvious even to the British that the old kind of imperialism was no longer sufficient. In accordance with the change in the relative strength of Great Britain and USA, now with USA as the undisputed leader in the imperialist world, Britain must admit not having the needed military, economic and political strength to crush and control the population in Oman. New strong powers and more modern methods are needed. Oman must be subject to the common control and exploitation of imperialism. Neo-colonialism shall be introduced in Oman. Provoced by the spreading of the liberation struggle to the interior and northern Oman, the British are compelled to stage a coup d'etat in 1970. The old Sultan is dethroned, and his son Qaboos, who has passed the British military achademi, Sandhurst, is put on the throne , as he can be used as a puppet to introduce neo-colonialism in Oman. He opens the country to foreign investments, and Japanese, American, West-German, British, Swedish and Danish firms make their entry. Financed by the revenues from some smaller oil-wells Qaboos begins the building of roads, and the first health and education system is started, Parallel with this apparently progressive development, army and police are modernised and heavily enlarged. A secret service is organised under the instruction of SAVAK, the notorious secret police of Iran. It is no longer the bribed tribal sheiks who control the population, but this function is taken over by the state through the army and the police.

This paradoxical build-up of the country is characteristic of neo-colonial development. With one hand the rulers try to ingratiate themselves with the population through limited reforms, the building of an education and health system and high wages to state-employes. With the other hand they subdue any kind of opposition, forbid the most elementary political rights, and operate with a secret police, specialised in torture and manslaughter This new strategy has earned the name of the "carrot and stick" strategy. The imperialists use it to pacify the population of the "third world" and to sow disunion in the ranks of the revolutionaries. This strategy suffered a temporary defeat in Oman, where the revolution had gained a foothold in the population and was spreading throughout Oman. A reconstruction of strategy by the rulers was necessary in order to dam up the revolution. This reconstruction came in the military field. Up to 1970 Britain was the only foreign power having military personal in Oman, but the British alone could not restrain the revolution. The conflict is internationalized. The internationalization takes place in accordance with the Nixon Doctrine, developed on the basis of the US defeat in the Vietnam War. The participation of USA with its own troops in the war aroused opposition on the home front and reinforced Vietnamese nationalism. In order to avoid these difficulties in the future, the task of suppressing national revolts is to be left to local governments. USA/Britain should no longer be visible on the battle-field, but act as instructors in the background. Iran has recently been build up militarily by USA in order to act as a policeman in the Gulf.

In December 1973 about 3000 Iranian special units are landed in Dhofar. Several thousands Jordanian troops had already been brought into the struggle against the People's Front. Especially decisive was the co-operation between Iran's airforce and fleet and the British Royal Air Force (based in Salala and on the Masirah island) regarding bombardments of the liberated areas. Beside the population; buildings, wells, roads, dams, fields and cattle were systematically bombed. By completing the "scorched earth" policy the imperialists prevented the population from building up the area. The popular councils of the liberated areas now had to concentrate on self-defence and cultivation of small well-hidden fields.

In spite of the intense attacks by the Iranians, the Sultan and the British on the liberated areas, the People's Front succeeded to keep control of the area in the period 1970-75. In the same period the Front makes several attempts to spread the struggle into the interior and northern Oman, but without succes. Latest

in 1974, when one of the leading cadres of the Front was killed, during an encounter close to the town Rustaq in the interior Oman. Four days later the inhabitants attack an Iranian military camp outside the town, and many Iranian soldiers are killed and military equipment destroyed. The incident is followed up by the Qaboos-government by arresting campaigns in all of the interior Oman.

In an attemt to isolate the People's Front, Qatar and the UAE are separated from Oman in a de-colonization-process, and together with Bahrain they receive their independence in 1971. These are three small and politically weak states but with great oil-incomes which makes it possible for them in variable extents to pay off the popular dissatisfaction and develop their own conditions, different from the rest of Oman.

Third Phase 1974-

After 1974 the Iranians multiplied their troops, and in 1975 a total of nine nations were involved with military personel on the side of the Sultan. The internationalization was accomplished.

Facing these serious attempts to quash the revolution, the People's Front holds a congress in 1974. After the Iranian occupation of Oman, the national contradiction is considered the main contradiction. The Front will conduct a defensive nationalist policy and will try to unite all national groups of Oman against the Iranians and the traitors in Muscat, in the defence of an Arabian Oman. Because of the Iranian presence in Oman itself and the formation of three small new states with special conditions, the People's Front is divided into independent organizations, the purpose of which it is to create a programme corresponding to the conditions in their area. The People's Front for the Liberation of Oman, PFLO calls for strengthening of the military defence of the liberated areas in an attempt to prevent once again a imperialistic intrusion.

At last at the end of 1975 after prolonged heroic resistance causing heavy losses to the Iranians and the British, the PFLO is forced by overwhelming military superiority to evacuate the liberated areas in order to avoid physical destruction. It would be to fight on the conditions of the enemy to continue the fight in the former way. It does not seriously weaken Iran's military power to loose 1000 men because these can be replaced easily, but to the PFLO every single martyr means a great loss.

THE SITUATION TODAY

Today the main forces of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and 3-5000 refugees are in the border area in PDRY. Here an essential task of the Front is to organize the life of the refugees. The organizing work has both material and political aspects, which after all are different aspects of the same matter. PFLO has a school in al-Gheida (150km from the border), the School of Revolution with app. 550 pupils. PFLO's health organization, the Omani Red Crescent runs a hospital in al-Gheida, the Fatma Ghananah Hospital, and a clinc in Hauf (a few kilometres from the border), the Martyr Habkook Clinic. To serve the needs which are special to the women and the youth, the Omani Womens Organization (OWO) and the Omani Youth Organization, have been started. (Learn more about the situation in the border area in Dhofar Letter, special issue no 7, February 1978). This organizing and mobilizing work is necessary if the refugees, when time comes, shall be able to continue the direct struggle to liberate their country.

Dhofar is occupied by overwhelming enemy forces, and the liberated areas no longer exist. During the evacuation of the liberated areas , smaller units were separated from the PLA and are now operating on their own in the central and eastern part of Dhofar, performing smaller operations, such as ambushes and laying out mines. As an example, one of these units on the 1'st of June this year, attacked a bus from the Sultan's air-forces by the town, Taqah, east of Salala. Six British officers, working for Qaboos at the bases of Thamrit and Salala, were killed. The Sultan and his foreign allies continue their attempts to pacify the population in Dhofar by tempting and threatening (i.e. continue the carrot and stick strategy), but they don't really think themselves, that they can buy the confidence of the Dhofarians. For instance we know from a former officer in the Sultan's army, now in the PFLO, that the soldiers are told by their trainers that people in Dhofar still symphatize with the revolution and the PFLO, and that they must be seen as opponents to the government. The fear of the Sultan and the imperialists is not without reason. The life in the liberated areas is still in the thoughts of the Dhofarians, and part of the organization-structure from that time has survived the occupation. In different ways the government tries to gain control of the population in Dhofar. They try to concentrate them in strategic settlements, chasing, arresting, inquiring and torturing people , who are suspected to work with

the revolution. Under these circumstances the Front naturally has very limited possibilities to mobilize, but the people are urged not to move to the strategic settlements of the government and to turn against the Iranian occupation within their possibilities.

The neo-colonial development, starting in Oman when Qaboos took over the rule, continues and means on the one hand that the government can extend its class-foundation by buying supporters from the newborn petit bourgeoisi. On the other hand a continued neo-colonial development will cause an aggravated situation in Oman, as this capitalist development can not be harmonic but creates tensions in the society. When Qaboos introduced the neo-colonial era, and foreign capital began to overflow the country, and ambitious development projects were started, many began to believe in the promises of Qaboos. But as time go by this belief becomes smaller, and tensions arise everywhere in society.

The development is mainly taking place in the construction- and building-sector and not so much in the industrial sector. The work in the former sector is often of short duration. Further an important part of the construction and building activities concern prestige and luxurious buildings; hotels, castles etc.; and buildings used for repression; police-stations, military-barracks prisons etc.. In addition the industrialization is very limited geographically i.e. to the Muscat/Matrah area. For political and economic reasons a large number of foreign workers are imported, and simultaneously the neo-colonial development cause migration to the towns and create large slum-areas, unemploiment, powerty and misery.

The inflation is enormous, the import of agricultural products increase, the military takes almost half of the state-budget, and Oman's large asset for the moment, the oil-revenues are expected to go down drastically in a few years, when the now-known oil-deposits are emptied.

That means no coherent economic system is created, being able to function after the finishing of the oil. The Sultan's economic adviser in the period 1972-1975, John Townsend says that there is

"no control other than the will of an impulsive man and the deviousness of one or two ministers with self-interest at heart" (John Townsend, Oman. The Making of a Modern State. London, Croom Helm, 1977, p.151).

The old tribal leaders feel challenged and outraged by the new development influenced and dominated by foreign interests. The new-born petit bourgeoisi will gradually, as it becomes better educated, want political rights and will no longer be interested to support an autocratic Sultan and might begin to feel pressed by the many foreigners called by Qaboos. Corruption flourish. Further the repression grows and the number of police-officers and political prisoners have been multiplied since the time of the old Sultan.

Other Gulf-countries have succeeded to alleviate similiar dangerous effects through the oil-revenues. Oman has no longer this possibility, but other rich reactionary regimes in the region, probably will be eager to subsidize the Sultan in an attempt to keep the reactionary rule in Oman (already, Oman receives economic support from Saudi Arabia).

These tensions, results of the neo-colonial development, are strengthened by the open presence of foreign military forces, and this can encourage the break-out of an open confrontation.

Till now the Iranian occupation of Oman is the paramount obstacle to a popular revolt. The Iranian occupation looks after the vital interest of imperialism, to secure the control of the oil-supplies to the West, which depends on the fact that the Gulf area stays under reactionary rule. By giving the local reactionary regimes, especially Iran and Saudi Arabia, military equipment and know-how in military, police and secret service matters, and by training them locally and in USA, these reactionary powers are able, themselves, to fight a popular revolt in the region. Thereby USA does not need to engage too much directly and avoids the problems related to this. Oman today, being a strategic important part of the Gulf-area, is US sphere of interest, both politically and economically. US-military has also established themself on the Masirah Base, which they share with the British. Thus it is a strong enemy, the Omani people is facing, not only the Sultan and his British allies, not only the Iranians, but all reactionary forces in the region and the whole imperialist system under the leadership of the USA. It becomes obvious why you can not predict quick victories, but only point out the perspectives that appears in some of the defects build into the imperialist conspiracy.

An important question is how the internal opposition to the Shah-rule will develop, as any blow against the Shah-regime will bring the Omani people one step closer to the liberation. Maybe it will

show up to be an important weakness in the imperialist control- and repression-system in the area that Iran's enormous economic and military potential is totally dependant on the huge oil-prices. It is often seen that the prices on rawmaterials have fluctuated strongly due to economically and/or politically directed changes in supply and demand.

The development of the co-operation between the two head allies of USA in the Gulf, Iran and Saudi Arabia, is also decisive. Both countries are very dependant on USA and are supporters of a reactionary rule in the area, but they are as well rivals in the question of being the greatest power. The military presence of Iran on Arab ground is something of a thorn in the side of Saudi Arabia, and it strengthens the traditional apposition between Arab and Persian nationalities. Saudi Arabia had prefered to subdue the opposition in the Arabian Peninsula themselves. One of the reasons why Saudi Arabia did not interfere militarily on its own, instead og Iran, is that SA has a comparable small population (only around 10% of the Iranian population). Because of this they did not have the needed military surplus. SA's fear of loosing ground by letting Iran catch hold of the Arabian Peninsula, can cause important changes.

The Gulf Security Pact, planned by the USA, did not succeed, among other things because of SA's fear that Iran would take advantage at the expense of SA. Today the work to establish a reactionary co-operation in the area continues, a co-operation for the protection of imperialist interests concerning the military, the secret service and the police. For the moment these interests are provided for through establishing of bilateral agreements.

Like this the destinies of the people in each country in this region are increasingly linked together. In order to lead every single national struggle to victory, it becomes more and more important for the popular movements in all of the countries to work together in the struggle against the common enemy, the local reactionaries and the world-wide imperialist system under the leadership of US-imperialism.

PFLO still works to mobilize the population in Oman. There are two main lines in their propaganda,
1. To mobilize the people for the political purpose, i.e. to expell the foreign occupying troops and to overthrow the regime, who asked these to come.
2. To expose the real nature of the regime, corruption, repression, lack of democratic rights. To support the struggle of the

masses for better living conditions and their right to organize. It is pointed out that the daily struggle for better livingconditions is necessary in order to create consciousness of the national matter, and the daily struggles must serve the national struggle. Without the national struggle the daily struggles would be economist struggles without any perspectives (Interview with a PFLO-representative in "Gulf Solidarity", no 2, 1977).

For the PFLO it is an important task in the present phase of the struggle, to sum up gained experience and formulate a new strategy, which takes into consideration the new situation, and to strengthen the organization of the Front. In a situation where the contradictions in the Omani society are sharpened, and where weaknesses appear in the imperialist camp , the existence of a revolutionary organization with a correct analysis and the needed political and military experience, can be fateful to the Qaboos-regime.

Gulf Solidarity. Bulletin on Oman and the Gulf is the name of a very good US-magazine. Subscription rates for one year: $2 individuals, $3 outside the US and $5 institutions. Send check made payable to Gulf Solidarity, to P.O.Box 756, Berkeley, CA 94701.

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